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THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

REV. CHARLES COPPEN, S. J.

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The Protestant Reformation

How it was Brought About
in Various Lands

BY

REV. CHARLES ^{OC}COPPENS, S. J.,

Author of Several Rhetorical, Philosophical
and Religious Works

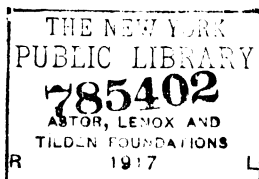
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P R E F A C E

The question answered in this booklet is old, but it has received of late a new illumination from the present sad condition of the Catholic Church in France. The progress of events which have tended these last years to the destruction of Christianity in that country is strikingly like the early progress of the Protestant Reformation over the half of Europe. The facts, as here narrated, will speak for themselves. They were published last autumn in the Omaha weekly paper, "The True Voice," from which the following quotation enables us to dispense with any further explanation. The editor says :

"We bring to a close in this issue the remarkable series of articles by Father Coppens on the origin of the Protestant Reformation. Whatever Father Coppens writes is of solid worth, temperate and scholarly. The present series of articles written for the True Voice has been widely republished by our Catholic contemporaries in the United States and Canada, and has been followed with deep interest by all readers. In the east the suggestion has been made that the entire series of articles be republished in pamphlet form and distributed by the Catholic Truth society. No more valuable contribution to the store of Catholic truth has been made recently than this series of articles, and we would be glad to see them receive the widest possible publicity."

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

HOW IT WAS BROUGHT ABOUT IN VARIOUS LANDS.

CHAPTER I.

ABUSES WITHIN THE CHURCH.

This chapter is introductory to a series of historical papers that will present rapid sketches of the processes by which the Protestant Reformation was, in the course of little more than a single generation, established in half the countries of Europe. Truth is ever a precious acquisition; it is especially so in matters so far reaching in their consequences on the welfare of mankind, for time and for eternity, as the subject here presented.

If the Church is a Divine institution, as all Catholics maintain, how can there be any abuses within it? Does not the existence of sins in a Church prove to evidence that it is not of God? Of course the sins are not of God; they come from man's free will. For there are two princi-

ples working in the Church: the Divine, the Holy Ghost, who works in it to sanctify man, to raise him heavenward; and the human element, which ought to co-operate with the Divine, but often fails to do so. The Holy Spirit works to produce that holiness which has been a conspicuous mark of the true Church in every age; but human infirmity, in every age as well, fosters those shortcomings, those sins, abuses, scandals which Christ predicted when He said: "It must needs be that scandal come; but nevertheless woe to that man by whom the scandal cometh" (Matth. XVIII, 7).

The evident consequence is that, all through the history of the Church, there have been and there will be to the end, scandals and abuses. The history of the Church is the history of the struggle, with its successes and its failures, between the Divine Spirit and the frail, carnal, yet free spirit of man, who is impeded at every step from yielding to the better influence by the direct enemies of God, the allied powers of the world, the Devil, and the flesh.

The existence, therefore, of abuses within the Church, is no objection against its Divine character. Foreseeing the false reasoning that would arise in this matter, Christ warned us against it

by giving us the parables of the cockle sowed among the wheat, which the servants of the husbandman were instructed to let grow until the harvest, and of the net cast into the sea, gathering good and bad fishes; so the angels shall separate the wicked from among the just at the end of the world. Both parables teach us that there shall be good and evil men within the Church till the last judgment. The scandals and abuses thus predicted began in the very times of the Apostles, and they were of the most shocking kind. See how St. Paul had to rebuke the Corinthians for the conduct of some of them at the reception of Holy Communion: "And one indeed is hungry," he says, "and others are drunk." And again: "It is absolutely heard that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as the like is not among the heathens, that one should have his father's wife." And yet that was the Church of Christ in its primitive state of fervor.

It has been the same in every generation since. The abuses and scandals have at times been in high places. True, of the 260 Popes that have successively governed the Church, 79 are canonized Saints, because of their heroic virtue; of the remainder, the vast majority have been men

of uncommon excellence in mental and moral qualities; but some few have been a disgrace to their exalted station. Cardinal Gibbons, in "The Faith of Our Fathers," says: "We have forty-three virtuous to one bad Pope, while there was a Judas Iscariot among the twelve apostles." But in the eyes of aliens to the Church one unworthy Pontiff attracts more attention than fifty worthy occupants of the papal throne.

Scandals in the lower orders of the faithful are, of course, far more numerous, and we need not fear to assert that there never was a generation since the time of Christ when his Church had not to deplore, and strive to check and reform, abuses of some kind or other within the family of her own children. Her dogmatic teaching and the standard of morality she upholds are always above reproach; for they are the direct work of the Divine element within her, the Spirit of Truth that abides with her forever. But the lives of many of her own fold, shepherds who are hirelings and sheep who stray from the flock, are a constant cause of anxiety to her, a copious source of scandal to the world. Meanwhile the same Divine Spirit who sanctifies those docile to the invitations of grace is ever and anon raising up in the midst of them zealous reformers

inspired by inward light and guided by the proper authority to remove the abuses resulting from human frailty and human passion. Such was the humble St. Francis of Assisi, who rose a living protest against the worldliness of his age; such was St. Catherine of Sienna, whom the Lord made His instrument to bring back the Pôpes from Avignon to Rome; such was the gentle St. Theresa, who restored the Carmelite religious to their pristine spirit of heroic austerity of life; such was St. Ignatius, who by his Spiritual Exercises, converted and sanctified himself and his companions, and then, with them and by them, reformed many thousands of others among the clergy and the laity. There is not an age in Church history in which remarkable reformatiôns did not purify the morals of many Christians.

In our own day we are witnessing a succession of reforms wrought by our venerated Supreme Pontiff, Pius X. It is only three years since he was raised, much against his will, to his sublime dignity, and already he has introduced a number of important reforms, some regarding his own surroundings and officials in the Roman congregations, others concerning the bishops and pastors throughout Italy, others affecting the teaching of catechism, the study of Holy Scripture in

seminaries, the regulation of Church music throughout the Catholic world, the frequent reception of Holy Communion, etc. At times the evils calling for reformation in the Church were so grievous and inveterate that there appeared to be no human hope of success. Take for an example the 13th century of our era. Various temporal princes had managed to control the appointment of bishops and abbots in their respective domains, filling many important sees with their relatives or favorites, and even sometimes selling the sacred offices by simoniacal bargains. Some of the Popes even had been raised to their high office by the influence of the German emperors.

Whence was the reformation of such abuses to come? Too many of the bishops and princes favored the scandals, and the Church appeared powerless to remove them. The Spirit of God raised up a savior, as He had done in the Old Law in the persons of Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, etc. On this occasion the chosen instrument of Providence was Hildebrand, a son of an artisan; through heroic courage he undid the spell that seemed to hold the sacred ministers. He induced the Pope to decree that the college of Cardinals should thenceforth elect the Supreme Pontiffs.

Himself having been elevated to the chair of Peter under the name of Gregory VII, he boldly abolished the evil practice of "investitures," as it was called, by which the several princes presumed to invest the new bishops with the ring and crozier, the emblems of their holy office. They claimed the right to select those persons whom they were to invest. The Emperor Henry IV was especially insistent on the exercise of this prerogative. Gregory VII., trusting in God's help against all opposition of earthly power, condemned the abuse, and pronounced a severe censure against any prince who should continue its practice. The Emperor assembled the bishops subject to him, deposed Gregory and put up an anti-Pope in his stead. But the worthy Pontiff proclaimed that Henry, by thus attacking the Church, had violated his coronation oath, and had thus forfeited the imperial crown; and he consequently declared all the German people released from their allegiance to the tyrant. Henry was forced to submit to the just sentence, and went a suppliant to Canossa, where Gregory was then staying. There he submitted to do penance for his offence before obtaining his pardon. The scandalous abuse of the investitures was thus abolished. But Gregory VII had to pay dear

for his holy victory; for he was subsequently driven from Rome by the same tyrant, and he died in exile. Besides, courtly historians, to please worldly potentates, covered his name with obloquy. He was represented as an unworthy Pope, until his honor was vindicated by the Protestant historian Voigt. Similar vindications have been written and accepted as the verdict of history, of Pope Innocent III, by Ranke and others, of Leo X, by Roscoe, etc., the power of truth triumphing over the prejudices of non-Catholic, but sincere students.

Whatever reform comes from the Spirit of God, as in the case of Gregory VII, is orderly, moderate and conformable to justice. But what arises from the human spirit is apt to be excessive, lawless, ready to use evil means for the attainment of desirable ends. Such has been the conduct, at various times, of self-appointed reformers who remained within the Church, but who did not know how to control their passions, and to use as much prudence as the delicate task they willingly assumed required for its successful execution. Thus the eloquent Friar Savanarola aroused violent opposition against the scandals caused by Pope Alexander VI, perhaps the most unworthy of all Roman Pontiffs. But his

zeal was not moderate, his measures were not such as the God of wisdom could approve; and yet the Psalmist has warned all generations that "unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." (Ps. 126.) We are next to treat of other self-appointed reformers who were far more to blame than the well meaning but rash and violent Savanarola.

CHAPTER II.

MARTIN LUTHER.

Martin Luther, the leading spirit of the Protestant Reformation, was born at Eisleben, in Saxony, on the 10th of November, 1483, nine years before Columbus discovered America. His parents were not blessed with the goods of earth, but his father seemed to have been a good man, and his mother certainly was a pious Catholic woman. Both strove to raise their boy in the knowledge and fear of God, and in the practice of the moral and the Christian virtues. This was no easy task. They gave him the best intellectual education their means allowed, and they did not spare the rod to subdue his very refractory spirit. Much of a man's character through life depends on the way he has profited by his early opportunities. Luther profited by his chances to acquire knowledge, but not docility and Christian humility. He himself relates that his mother once whipped him till he

bled, and he adds ironically that it was about a miserable nut. It matters little what the occasion was; the reason of the severity was no doubt his stubbornness. This is apparent from another statement of his, namely, that when his father had one day punished him cruelly, as he calls it, he was filled with hatred against his parent, and came very near running away from home. That he was an unusually stubborn boy is clear from the fact that, when at school, he once got fifteen thrashings in one morning.

Once broken in he worked hard to get an education. Schools were mostly free for poor students in those Catholic times, and he managed to eke out a sparing subsistence by various devices, one of which was to sing in the streets and collect alms from the kindly disposed among his hearers. The Lord had given him a charming voice; and this, together with his devout demeanor at the Holy Mass, which he attended daily, brought him, in his sixteenth year, an unexpected and considerable blessing. For he thus attracted the favorable attention of a rich, charitable lady, Frau Cotta, who received him as a permanent guest in her family, till at eighteen he went to pursue higher studies at Erfurt University.

There he read Virgil, Livy, Cicero, Plautus, etc.; he also studied law and philosophy under the tuition of the Augustinian monks. The whole university soon wondered at his intellectual powers. At nineteen he was made a Bachelor, and at 22 a Doctor of Philosophy. During these years his piety appears to have been sincere, and, in keeping with his natural character, deeply earnest.

But it was the period of history when the Humanist movement, aroused by the migration westward of Greek scholars flying from the Moslems, had turned the attention of the educated in Europe rather to the classical pagan models than to Christian ideals of perfection. Luther was seized with this spirit to such an extent that his highest ambition was to attain distinction in secular learning. Whereas the university at Erfurt contained an eight years' course of the study of Holy Scripture, he seems to have ignored it entirely, giving all his attention to profane letters. Thus it may well be that, when later on he took to the reading of the Holy Bible, he found this precious treasure almost a new book to him, though it had been the most familiar of all books during the preceding centuries. So there are today thousands of Christian literateurs

and scientists who have never read the Holy Gospels. The late historian, Joannes Janssen, in his monumental work, "The History of the German People," has forever dispelled the mist that used to surround the life of Luther with a halo of glory. The main facts narrated in the present rapid sketch are taken from his pages. He writes with great impartiality, giving to each historical personage all the credit he deserves.

We naturally ask ourselves, how was it that Luther, with his head full of secular ambition and already highly distinguished by his learning, and honored so early in life with the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, how was it that he abandoned the world to become an humble Augustinian friar? Janssen narrates the facts as follows: "Among the younger Humanists whose circle he (Luther) joined, Crotus Rubianus and Joannes Lange were his special friends, but he himself passed among his associates as a musician and a learned philosopher rather than as a poet. He joined heartily in all their social pleasures, and delighted them with his singing and music. But he would often pass suddenly from mirth and cheerfulness to a gloomy, despondent state of mind, in which he was tormented by searchings of conscience. In the year 1505 he sustained a

great shock in the sudden death of a friend, who was stabbed in a duel; and in the same year he was caught in a terrific thunder storm, during which his life was in danger. 'As I hurried along with the anguish and fear of death upon me,' he wrote later on, 'I vowed a vow that was wrung from me by terror.' Soon after he gathered his friends together at a supper, which was enlivened by lute-playing and singing, and then informed them of the resolve he had made to renounce the world and become an Augustinian monk. 'Today you see me,' he said, 'but afterwards no more.' All the entreaties of his friends were useless. They accompanied him weeping to the door of the monastery. It was characteristic of Luther that the only books which he took with him into his retreat were the pagan poets Virgil and Plautus." (Vol. III, p. 81.)

Luther himself admits that he was driven by despair, rather than the love of higher perfection, into a religious career. He wrote: "I entered the monastery and renounced the world, despairing of myself all the while." He fell a victim to excessive scrupulousness of conscience. The only remedy for such an abnormal state of mind is perfect obedience to a wise director. But obedience and docility were uncongenial

MARTIN LUTHER

virtues to his stubborn mind. He soon yielded to despondency to such an extent as to neglect for weeks together the recitation of the Divine Office, to which after his vows he was bound under sin. Following his own notions he would fast and discipline himself and bury himself in solitude till he nearly lost his reason.

He saw more sin in himself than he felt he could atone for by his works of penance; and instead of trusting in the merits of Christ, as the Church has always taught her children to do, he gave himself up to black despair. Here is the picture he draws of his sad condition at the time: "From misplaced reliance on my own righteousness, my heart became full of distrust, doubt, fear, hatred, and blasphemy of God. I was such an enemy of Christ that whenever I saw an image or a picture of him hanging on His Cross, I loathed the sight and I shut my eyes and felt that I would rather have seen the devil. My spirit was completely broken, and I was always in a state of melancholy; for, do what I would, my 'righteousness' and my 'good works' brought me no help or consolation." (Janssen, Vol. III, p. 84.)

It is a common experience to see scrupulous souls, if they are self-opinionated, rush from

extreme timidity to excessive rashness. It was so with Luther. He made up his mind that, by reason of inherited sin, man was become totally depraved, and possessed no liberty of the will. Here was the root of the Lutheran heresy. He concluded that all human action whatever, even that which is directed towards good, being an emanation from our corrupt nature, is, in the sight of God, nothing more nor less than deadly sin; therefore our actions have no influence on our salvation; we are saved by faith alone without good works. "When we believe in Christ," he said, "we make His merit our own possession. The garment of His righteousness covers all our guilt." He wrote some years later to a friend: "Be a sinner, if you will, and sin right lustily; but believe still more lustily, and rejoice in Christ, who is the vanquisher of sin." Again: "From the Lamb that takes away the sin of the world sin will not separate men, even though they should commit fornication a thousand times a day, or murders as frequently." This is Lutheranism full blown, carried to its logical consequences, not probably as he understood it as yet; but it was conceived by him at the time in embryo and elaborated later on. He needed only time to mature and opportunity and stub-

born resolve to propagate these errors and establish a new religion.

After one year of novitiate Luther had been ordained priest in 1506. Two years later he was promoted to a professorship at the recently founded University of Wittenberg. His novel system of justification was meanwhile maturing in his active brain. His Protestant eulogist, Mathesius, says that as early as 1515 he was denounced as a heretic. But he spoke so eloquently in defense of his original views that he gained over to his side almost the entire student body and most members of the faculty at the young university. He aroused the admiration and enthusiasm of the faithful in the city, and he became a special favorite of Frederick the Elector of Saxony. His mind was big with projects, and the Reformation was ready to leap forth from his brain armed cap-a-pie, as Minerva did from the head of thundering Jove.

CHAPTER III.

LUTHERANISM PROMULGATED.

It was in the Lent of 1517 that Luther began preaching some of his new doctrines to the faithful in a church at Wittenberg, where an enthusiastic audience ever hung upon his eloquent lips. He inveighed against those who had made the people believe that they were obliged to cultivate good will, good intentions, good ways of thinking, etc., etc. On July 25 he preached at Dresden, teaching that the mere acceptance of Christ's merits insured salvation. On October 31 he seized a favorable opportunity to vent some of his views in public by attacking the teachings of the Dominican monk, Tetzels, who was collecting alms for the building of the grand Basilican of St. Peter, in Rome.

This magnificent edifice is certainly a rich source of glory to God and of edification to mankind. It was fitting that the noblest edifice on earth should be erected for the most solemn func-

tions of the Christian religion. But, of course, it required a vast amount of money, such as could not be collected at the time without appealing to the generosity of all Christian lands. To encourage liberal donations for this worthy purpose, Pope Leo X had proclaimed a special indulgence for all those who, repenting of their sins, should receive the Sacrament of Confession, attend church devoutly and contribute for the erection of St. Peter's church according to their ability. No definite sum was appointed, and those who had no money to give could gain the indulgence by prayers and fastings offered for the success of the work. The preachers of the indulgence were expressly enjoined to dismiss no applicant without the grace, as in this transaction the welfare of Christians was no less considered than the building of the church.

An indulgence is a remission of the temporal punishment due to sin after the guilt has been remitted. That such punishment may remain after the pardon of a sin is taught clearly in Holy Scripture, where we read that Nathan said to David: "The Lord hath taken away thy sin; nevertheless—the child that is born of thee shall die" (2 Kings, XIII, 13, 14). Now Christ commissioned St. Peter, saying "Whatsoever

thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in Heaven" (Matth. XVI, 19). Hence the Popes, as successors of St. Peter, claim the power of granting the remission of whatever can keep us out of Heaven, both the guilt by absolution and the penalty of sin by indulgences; provided all be done so as to promote the glory of God and the good of souls.

Did any great abuse occur in connection with the indulgence preached by Tetzel and his companions? Yes. What we now call "graft" was a pretty common abuse in Luther's time. It was perhaps almost as bad then as it is today. But it was a much greater scandal than it is now, because many persons guilty of it were churchmen, and not merely city or country folk. The crime of simony, that is selling sacred things for money or its equivalent, has often been a stigma to the Church. It has done enormous amounts of harm, chiefly by getting unworthy persons into sacred offices. Then those unworthy holders of cardinals disgraced their holy religion, and caused those very scandals which Luther gave as a pretext for his reform. For instance, Albert, the archbishop of Mayence, at the time we speak of, had become archbishop by simony; and when the indulgence for St. Peter's church

was preached, he strove to have one-third of the money collected in his province turned into his own pocket to reimburse him for the sum he had spent to get his office. This was a great abuse, but it did not affect the indulgence itself.

At the same time the Elector Frederick, Luther's friend and patron, did not wish any of the money to go from his domains to Rome, if he could prevent it. Luther and his brethren, the Augustinian monks, could do him no greater favor than to attack the preachers of the indulgence. They had some additional motive to do so in the fact that this mission had been entrusted to the Dominican Fathers instead of their own more ancient order. The master stroke of Luther consisted in throwing the odium of the graft on the indulgences.

The occasion of inveighing against the preaching of the indulgences was rendered more favorable by certain mistakes made by some of Tetzels missionaries. It was not in explaining how persons could gain the indulgences for themselves—for in this respect their teaching was correct—but in explaining the manner in which such indulgences can be gained in behalf of the souls in Purgatory. They supposed that a Christian

did not need to be in God's grace himself in order to secure an indulgence in favor of a certain departed soul of his own choice. This would take personal holiness out of the matter, and it gave occasion to wicked men to call it a sale of indulgences. Rome had made no mistake, but some of its missionaries had. Even these did not mean to sell indulgences, but Luther thus interpreted their conduct.

Luther's chief purpose was not to correct this error, but to profit by it for the purpose of making indulgences odious, and indirectly to blame the Pope, who had granted them. The proof of this statement is found in some of the ninety-five theses which he posted up at Wittenberg, one of which asked: "Why does not the Pope, who is rich as Croesus, build St. Peter's with his own money, rather than with that of poor Christians?" Now the Pontiff was not building a private chapel for himself, but a basilica for the whole Christian world. Another thesis said: "Christians should be taught that he who gives to the poor, or assists the needy, does better than he who purchases indulgences." It was the old argument of the traitor Judas, who asked: "Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence and given to the poor?"

Now he said this not because he cared for the poor " (John XII, 5, 6).

Besides, Luther knew very well that the Church does not allow people to purchase indulgences; but he skilfully turned the blunders of some underlings against the higher authorities, and thus gave currency to the slander which has been perpetuated to the present day, that indulgences can be bought for money.

Tetzel answered him on January 20, 1518, by posting up one hundred and six counter theses. But the dispute soon drifted into a wider field, Luther passing from one accusation to another. He afterwards wrote to Tetzel, whom many blamed for the beginning of the rebellion: "You need not trouble and distress yourself; for the matter did not begin with you; this child had, indeed, quite a different father." He himself was that father, and the Reformation would have taken place if no indulgences had ever been preached.

Still Luther seems to have had no fixed purpose at that time of separating from the Church, but of reforming both the doctrine and the discipline of the Church after his own peculiar ideas. But until he felt secure of having sufficient support in secular princes, he carefully concealed his rebellious spirit. Thus on March

3, 1519, he wrote an humble letter to Pope Leo X, in which he swore before God that he had never dreamt of impeaching the Catholic Church, that there was nothing in Heaven or on earth that he preferred before her. And yet only ten days later he wrote to his friend, Spalatin: "I don't mind telling you, between ourselves, that I am not sure whether the Pope is Anti-Christ himself or only his apostle."

In the following year, 1520, Luther felt secure in the support of a large army of revolutionists, princes and nobles and learned Humanists and the common people, who would not have allowed any harm to befall him. Then he proclaimed aloud that the new Gospel truth had been revealed to him by the Lord, that he was commissioned to announce it to the people, and that there was no salvation by any but his doctrine. The pith of that doctrine was, "Salvation by faith alone, without good works on the part of man, all whose actions are only so many sins because human nature is utterly corrupted by the fall of Adam; but belief that his sins are covered with the mantle of Christ's merits, is saving faith to any man who has it."

Evidently there is no room for indulgences or confession in this system of justification; nor for

Purgatory, nor for honoring any Saint, since there are no Saints, but all remain corrupt for all eternity, only the corruption is covered by the cloak of Christ's merits.

Luther taught besides that "whatever issues from Baptism may boast that it has been consecrated priest, bishop, pope," there is no difference among Christians except the offices assigned to some. Since all Christians are priests, all have equal authority to interpret the Bible for themselves. As he wished chiefly to flatter the princes so as to secure their protection, he taught that, "For as much as the temporal power is ordained of God to punish the wicked and to protect the good, therefore it must be allowed to do its work unhindered on the whole Christian body, without respect to persons, whether it strike popes, bishops, priests, monks, nuns, or whom it will."

The secular power, he maintained, should summon a free council which "should reorganize the constitution of the Church from its foundation, and must liberate Germany from the Romish robbers, from the scandalous, devilish rule of the Romans." "It is stated," he adds, "that there is no finer government in the world than that of the Turks, who have neither a spiritual

nor a secular code of law, but only their Koran. And it must be acknowledged that there is no more disagreeable system of rule than ours, with our canon law and our common law, whilst no class any longer obeys either natural reason or the Holy Scripture."

This then, is the "Reformation," or new religion which Luther proclaimed to the world. We shall next consider how it spread like a swelling torrent over large portions of Europe.

CHAPTER IV.

LUTHERANISM PROPAGATED.

We have seen how Luther, under the pretence of attacking some abuses existing in his day, had gradually been emboldened by his success in arousing popular passions, and had proceeded so far as to proclaim an entirely new scheme of salvation, which, as he admitted, had never before been the doctrine of the Church. He claimed that he had been taught his Gospel directly by Heaven, and that he had been commissioned to preach to the people that his was the only means of salvation. How did he succeed in gaining millions of men to abandon their ancestral Catholic faith, and accept him as the reformer of the old religion? This we are now briefly to explain.

First, we must remember that he did not begin by preaching openly a novel creed. He claimed at first only to be the spokesman of many Catholics, clergy and laity, princes and

people, who complained of some scandalous extortions of money for pretended holy purposes, which were said to enrich Rome and the Pope, at the expense of Germany. This complaint stirred up passions the more violently because the preceding Pope, Julius II, had rescued Italy from German domination. The Germans nourished a grudge against the Popes.

Luther complained also of abuses which happened to be connected with the preaching of an indulgence; and he but gradually made bold to attack the doctrine itself. Many causes were conspiring at the time in Germany to alienate its people more and more entirely from the See of Rome.

There was first the Humanist movement. This had arisen from the influx of Grecian teachers of literature, who had come West in large numbers, especially when Constantinople was captured by the Moslems in 1454. The enthusiasm created by them for the study of the ancient classics had infatuated the educated generally with admiration for pagan ideals, and substituted the love of elegant language for the former appreciation of Christian truth. It had fostered a worldly spirit, even among the

clergy, and had made the simplicity of former ages contemptible. Pride of intellect is most unfavorable to the spirit of faith and submission to Divine authority. It craves for independence of the judgment.

A large portion of the Humanists welcomed Luther as their champion in the cause of intellectual freedom. They wrote to him to express their approbation and to promise support for his attacks on Rome. Janssen says of them: "In their struggle against scholastic learning and ecclesiastical authority the latter (the Humanists) welcomed this audacious reformer, and entered the lists for him." Quoting a reliable contemporary of Luther the same author adds: "With their lips and their pens, the Humanists fought unweariedly for Luther, and disposed the hearts of the laity towards his cause. They attacked the prelates and theologians with all manner of abusive and derisive language, accused them of covetousness, pride, envy, ignorance, and coarseness, and said that they only persecuted the innocent Luther because he was more learned than themselves, and because he had sufficient candor to speak out the truth in opposition to the deceit and falsehood of hypocrites. As these Humanists, besides being shrewd and

gifted men, could also use both spoken and written language with eloquence and skill, it was an easy matter for them to excite pity and regard for Luther among the laity, and to make out that for the sake of truth and justice he was persecuted by a set of envious, grasping, unlearned clergy, who, living themselves in idleness and debauchery, endeavored to get money out of the poor silly people by working on their superstitions" (V. III, p. 101).

Unfortunately Erasmus, the greatest scholar of the day, though he never became a Protestant, wrote most enthusiastically in commendation of Luther till he found out the further purposes of the heresiarch. He and his fellow Humanists were like the Higher Critics of to-day, many of whom are Rationalists rather than Christians; some of them even questioned the immortality of the soul. It was such men who hailed Luther as the liberator of the human mind from the slavery of religious authority.

No period in history could have been more favorable to the rapid spread of novel views among the learned classes, and in the awakening minds of the common people, than was the first half of the sixteenth century. The late invention

of printing had created an extraordinary ferment of thought, and Luther eagerly seized upon the press to address the whole German nation. His style was powerful and most popular, unsparing in denunciation of wrong and of restraint on liberty of speech and thought. Janssen says: "The sale of Lutheran books was enormous, and side by side with them appeared thousands of leaflets, satires and pasquils, which struck at all existing institutions of Church and State. In no other period of German history did revolutionary journalism acquire such importance and such wide circulation as at that time. Crowds of adherents flocked round Luther, not from any preference for his religious opinions, but, as Melancthon explains, because they looked upon him as the restorer of liberty, under which name each one understood the removal of whatever stood in his own way, and the attainment of the particular form of happiness he individually wished for. Many of his supporters were actuated by no other motive than the love of destroying. By speech and by pen they labored for the destruction of social order, and undermined through all classes of society all respect for the inward restraints of religion and conscience, and the outward control of the law " (Ib. p. 104).

The party of Luther was immensely increased by the easy morality implied in his doctrine. If faith alone can save us, then there is no more need of confession, of fasting and penance to obtain pardon of sin, no need of sorrow and reform of life. No more good works were demanded, for all our acts, even the best, were only new sins. No more accountability for our actions, for we are not free in our choice; if God mounts the soul, Luther said, he rides it to Heaven; but if the devil bestrides it, he rides it to hell. Yet there is no fear of hell for any one, if only he believes firmly that Christ has paid the full ransom for his individual sins, they are all covered by the cloak of His merits, and at death that man goes straight to Heaven. All this followed logically from his premises, and much of it is taught explicitly in his work, "On the Slave Will."

Another seduction was the free scope given to the human intellect, for each one was to read the Bible and judge for himself. It was like a general intoxication of passion and independence. And all this was declared to be, not only a safe way, but the only safe way to eternal happiness.

All that remained to be done in order to complete the total separation from Rome was the

favor and co-operation of the temporal princes. To secure this, Luther offered them the seizure of all the churches and monasteries of their respective lands, with the gold and silver ornaments, and precious stones and rich vestments that the piety of many ages had bestowed upon the worship of God. Wheresoever Lutheranism was accepted by the rulers, all those treasures were eagerly seized by them to enrich them and their friends. And once possessed of Church lands and other property of the kind, the princely robbers found it to be their interest to foster and maintain the new religion, lest they might have to restore their ill-gotten goods.

In a couple of years the demoralization was complete. On March 28, 1523, Luther issued an appeal to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, urging him with all the religious of that Order, to set aside their sacred vows, contract sacrilegious marriages, and divide the monastic lands and treasures among themselves. He added: "I have no doubt that many bishops also, and many abbots, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries would marry if they were not afraid of being the first." Most of the Knights yielded to the temptation, and many priests, monks and nuns followed their bad example. Luther him-

self married a nun, Catherine Bora, both breaking their solemn vows, which they had taken at the sacred altars.

A torrent of impiety was poured forth over the land; the change made in his followers is well exemplified by what he admits had taken place in his own person. For he wrote that, while a Catholic, he had passed his life in austerities, in watchings, in fasts and praying, in poverty, chastity and obedience; but after his change of religion he declared that, as it did not depend upon him not to be a man, so neither did it depend upon him to be without a woman, and that he could no longer forego the indulgence of the vilest natural propensities. Meanwhile he was ill at ease in his inmost heart. He wrote this frequently to various friends. To one he says: "Many people think, because in the intervals I am cheerful in my outward bearing, that I live on a bed of roses, but God knows what my real life is." He was incessantly at war with his conscience, and, according to his own confession, he sought relief in those fits of despair which often frightened his friends, in incessant drinking, in card-playing and conviviality, or else in outbursts of vindictive fury against the Church, its

teachings and institutions, especially against the Pope.

For the last fifteen years of his life he usually passed the evenings at the Black Eagle tavern of Wittenberg, where he conversed over the ale jug with his boon companions, Melanchton, Armsdorf, Aurifaber, Justus, Jonas, Lange, Link, Staupitz and others. Two of these published select morsels of this Table Talk, "Tish Rede," which their vile tastes admired; but the book reveals in Luther a heart so coarse, so corrupt, so lustful, spiteful, proud, resentful, etc., as to revolt and horrify the reader. Happily the English language has so far refused to reproduce those profanities, except in brief extracts and expurgated editions. His language against the Supreme Pontiff is like the ravings of a maniac or the curses of an energumen. How much further he would have dragged down the standard of public morals if he had lived longer, we do not know, but certain it is that, in 1539, the year before his death, he allowed Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, to marry a second wife while his first wife remained married with him. Here is an extract from the lengthy document he sent to Philip on that occasion: "As to what your highness says, that it is not possible to you

to abstain from this impure life, we wish you were in a better state before God. . . . But, after all, if your highness is fully resolved to marry a second wife, we judge it ought to be done secretly. . . . Your highness has, therefore, in this writing, the approbation of us all, in case of necessity, concerning what you desire," etc. The lengthy document is printed in full in an appendix to the History of the Reformation by Bishop Spalding. It is signed by Martin Luther, Melancthon, Bucer and five other leaders of the new religion.

Here are facts enough about the origin of Lutheranism to show that its author was not a man of God, and his work was not the work of God. Present members of the Lutheran religion are not guilty of their founder's sins, because they have been born three hundred years after his death. The majority of them do not know these facts nor even the early tenets of their sect. But once they know better, they must return to the one Church of Christ if they wish for salvation; and it is not harshness but charity to tell them so.

CHAPTER V.

ORIGIN OF THE ANABAPTISTS AND BAPTISTS

We are not inquiring here what kind of men the Baptists are today, but what was their origin, what their early history. They state in their writings that their origin is wrapped in obscurity. But history has of late torn away the veil of many pretences, and it has done so in the present case. It is now clearly known that the Baptists have come from the Anabaptists; they have dropped the first two syllables of their original name in order to escape the odium attached to those early sectaries. The history of the Anabaptists is as well known as any ordinary event of the past four centuries.

The word Anabaptist etymologically means a person who baptizes over again. It was used to designate the fact that their new doctrine held infants' baptisms to be of no avail, since the sacrament could benefit those only who desired it. Now as all Christians before the Reformation

began had been baptized in their infancy, those who joined this sect were rebaptized. This error was originated by Thomas Munzer, the Lutheran pastor of Zwickau in Saxony, in the year 1520. He and his followers carried the principles of the Reformation to their furthest consequences; every one was to interpret the Bible for himself, and they professed to find texts in the Sacred Volume that justified rebellion against princes as well as against bishops and popes. They were socialists, mystics, fanatics; they rejected all authority, all tradition, all control of any kind. Intoxicated with individual liberty, they went about committing such excesses, such outrages on morality, as disgraced the name of Anabaptists for all future generations.

Munzer gave a fresh impulse and a new character to the "Peasants' war," as it was called, which was directed by him to the establishment of an ideal Christian commonwealth with communistic institutions. In 1525 his army was defeated at Frankenhausen; he was tried, condemned and executed.

But this well deserved punishment was looked upon by the Anabaptists as a form of most unjust persecution. New associations were formed among them, new prophets and teachers arose,

the propaganda was extended among the peasants and serfs of Germany, Austria and Hungary in every direction. They summarized their tenets as follows:

“Impiety prevails everywhere. It is therefore necessary that a new family of holy persons be founded, enjoying, without distinction of sex, the gift of prophecy, and skilled to interpret Divine revelation. No need of learning; for the internal law is more than the outward expression. No Christian is allowed to go to law, to hold an office in the civil government, to take an oath in a court of justice, or to possess any personal property; everything among Christians must be in common.”

They went about burning all books but the Bible, and destroying all churches within their reach. Catholics are often blamed for being intolerant of heretics, for refusing them liberty of conscience. But when they saw what heresy and liberty of conscience meant during the first decades of the Reformation, how could they help being intolerant? Who, if he knows the facts, can blame them for defending their own liberty of worship, their churches, their altars, their priests, bishops and the Supreme Pontiff against all manner of insult and violence? Must a man

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stand by and see what is nearest and dearest to his heart outraged by mobs and fanatical leaders of mobs? I do not think the Catholics to-day would patiently submit to such mob violence if it were offered, and I do not know that any would expect it from high-spirited citizens.

A few years later John of Leyden, a tailor by trade, was proclaimed King of the New Zion. He put all the laws of morality, of decency and moderation at defiance. He was a tyrant to his subjects; yet, he pleased them by introducing polygamy. He pronounced anathemas against Luther as well as against the Pope of Rome. At last Munster, the capital of his kingdom, was taken in 1535; and he and others of the leaders were tortured with hot pincers till they expired.

The most fanatical of their leaders being thus removed, new prophets arose, who objected to polygamy and to other most revolting disorders. In many places the better element among the Anabaptists prevailed, and the sect became more like to the ordinary followers of the Reformation. But its name has ever since remained one of extremely bad repute, and its members have often been persecuted by other Protestant bodies. Some of them went to settle in the Netherlands,

and thence passed over into England, in company with some English dissenters who had fled from the persecution in their own country, and who in Holland had taken up the main tenets of the Anabaptists. As early as 1535 we read of ten Anabaptists suffering death for their heresy under Henry VIII in England, and in 1538 of three men and one woman executed for the same opinions. Yet their tenets gradually spread, and now there are said to be about 500,000 of those sectaries in Europe; but the name Anabaptists had been changed to that of Baptists.

In America they are far more numerous. In 1533 a colony of Welsh Anabaptists had come over to settle in Massachusetts. Here the celebrated Roger Williams undertook to defend the same errors as the Anabaptists in Europe, as far as Baptism was concerned. But instead of the lawlessness and the excesses of the early leader of the Anabaptists, he displayed a spirit of moderation and tolerance which has made him one of the most honored pioneers of religious liberty in the United States.

From the beginning of the heresy its followers objected to the name "Anabaptists," because, they said, infants were incapable of receiving

baptism, and therefore were not rebaptized but simply baptized when they desired it in riper age. They claimed the name "Antipaedobaptists," "against the baptism of children." But the appellation was cumbersome; and, besides, the term Anabaptists was not incorrect, for the vast multitudes of Christians in all ages have considered infant baptism valid, and therefore the repeating of the ceremony in later life was an attempt to repeat baptism, to baptize over again. History has consecrated the term Anabaptists and it will no doubt remain till the end of time.

But the Baptists of the present day have another objection against the name as applied to themselves. In this they are right. For although they are historically connected by descent of organization, and still more evidently by sameness of their leading doctrine with the Anabaptists of Reformation times, yet, as it is a given or proper, not a common name, and the appellation has been historically disgraced, they have an undoubted right to disown it as the designation of their present organization. We respect their reasonable wishes in this matter, and therefore we have headed this paper "Origin of the Anabaptists and Baptists," admitting the dis-

tion, yet tracing both divisions to their common historical origin.

It would certainly be unjust to blame the modern branch for the wild fruit produced by older branches which are now dead and cut off. But the root of the entire tree is evil; at most the defence can be made that the Baptist sect is the growth of human passion pruned by human reason, but it is in no sense the work of God. It is the same with many others of the early Reformation sects. Their modern members have to a great extent disowned the most objectionable principles of their founders. Thus most Lutherans of the present day no longer believe in the total depravity of human nature, in the slavery of our will and the needlessness of good works. The Presbyterians too have recently so amended their Calvinistic profession of faith as to strike out from it the most offensive tenets.

In fact, even in Luther's time the fruit produced by the tree which he had planted had become so bad that he was forced by what he saw and heard on all sides to lament the sad results. Thus he complained, saying: "The world grows worse and worse, and becomes more wicked every day. Men are now more given to revenge, more avaricious, more devoid of mercy,

less modest, and more incorrigible, in fine, more wicked than in the Papacy." In his Table Talk he commented thus:

"One thing no less astonishing than scandalous is to see that, since the pure doctrine of the gospel has been brought to light, the world daily grows from bad to worse." He would willingly have corrected some of his own teachings if he could have done so without stultifying himself before the whole world.

CHAPTER VI.

ORIGIN OF CALVINISM.

John Calvin was a very different character from Martin Luther. Like one another in their uncommon power of intellect and strength of will, in their rejection of all authority on earth that claimed to control their independent thought, speech and action—these two standard-bearers of the Reformation were in most other respects the opposites of each other.

Luther was by nature and principle a destroyer and disorganizer in religion and morality, fond of breaking through all bonds, of throwing down all bars for himself and for other men generally; Calvin, on the contrary, had a remarkable genius for organization, and delighted in imposing bonds. He built up a novel structure of dogma and morals, tightening the yoke on the multitude, but releasing himself and a few elect souls from all fear of future punishment. We shall understand this better when we shall get acquainted with his personal history.

Calvin was born at Moyon, in Picardy, France, on July 10, 1509, when Luther, as a young monk, was beginning his professorial career at the University of Wittenberg. His father was a faithful Christian, blessed with a good wife and six children, but not with ample means for their support. Of the children John was the most talented and the most ambitious. In the same town the noble family of the Mom-mors, with a charity common in Catholic times, took him into their home to be educated with their own children by a private tutor. When he was twelve years old, they sent him with two of their own sons to Paris, where John was to continue his studies for the priesthood.

While attending lectures at the great Paris University, the poor boy was lodged and supported gratis by his paternal uncle, Richard, who made an honest living as a locksmith. The boy is thus described by an early writer: "His body was dry and slender, but he already exhibited a sharp and vigorous intellect, prompt at repartee, bold in attack. He was great at fasting, he spoke but little; his language was serious and always to the point. He entered seldom into company and sought retirement."

Meanwhile the errors of Luther, his fierce assaults on the Pope, his condemnation of penance and moral restraints, etc., had begun to attract public attention in France, and was creating a wild excitement, particularly among the students of the Paris University. Calvin was soon infected with the new spirit. While his good Uncle Richard daily attended Mass, abstained from flesh meet every Friday and Saturday, and piously told his beads daily, John had begun to scoff at such devout practices. For already at 14 he had read some of Luther's books; he had admitted doubt and then proud contempt into his conceited mind. The influence of his principal professor at the time was in favor of the novel errors, and soon the boy was no longer a Catholic except in name.

Still he found it his interest to conceal his sentiments, and at the age of 19, having been enrolled among the clergy by receiving the tonsure, he obtained a considerable ecclesiastical benefice, which enabled him to live on the Church without discharging any sacred duties. He never received the priesthood nor even the Minor Orders, though he held the title of pastor of a considerable parish.

For a while he studied law at Orleans, where, under the tuition of an excellent master, he greatly improved in logical thought and trenchant expression; but he was unpopular among his fellow students, with whom his habit of fault-finding earned for him the sobriquet of "the accusative case." Next he studied at Bourges, where he made the acquaintance of Beza, Wolmar and other enthusiastic admirers of Luther. Thence he returned to Paris to complete his theological course, living all along on the income of a Church benefice, while he was maturing in his active mind the plan of his heretical system of predestination. While he paused on the brink of the precipice, he was a prey to racking torments of conscience.

At last his mind was made up, for, to use his own words: "God, by a sudden conversion, subdued his heart and made it docile." From Audin's "Life of Calvin" we are led to conceive the genesis of his system in this way. He had a powerful intellect, and an iron will to execute whatever he resolved upon; but he had no love of any person but himself, no kindness, no tenderness, no pity on the miserable. Being such, he formed to himself a conception of God after his own image and likeness, a God all intellect and

strength of will, but wanting in the element of goodness. This God, in Calvin's system, created the world simply to exercise His arbitrary power, without any regard to the happiness of His creatures. Some of these He predestined to be saved, happy forever, others to be lost in endless woe; without leaving any influence on their lot to either the elect or the reprobate. To the elect God gives sooner or later an intimate conviction of their election; this pledge once received can never be lost. Calvin calls this conviction "faith," taking this word in a novel sense of his own. This faith prompts the happy recipients of it to lead holy lives. Those who have it not are a mass of damnation; they have nothing to gain by the practice of virtue, but they should be kept in order by the elect, by force if necessary.

Calvin, while still openly professing the Catholic religion, held conventicles at night with his secret followers, whom he indoctrinated with his new tenets. His position became dangerous. So he sold his ecclesiastical benefice and fled to the court of Navarre, where Queen Margaret patronized the Reformation. In that kingdom he composed the gospel of his sect, which he entitled, "The Christian Institutes."

We can best understand the spirit of his teachings by seeing how he reduced it to practice during the twenty-two years from 1542 to 1564, while he was all-powerful in Geneva, Switzerland. Considering himself and his partizans as the elect of God, he looked down contemptuously upon the "Libertines," as he styled the unconverted Genevese, just as the Pharisees of old used to look down upon the Publicans. In the spirit of Phariseeism, he enacted a code of the most rigid morality, and he organized a consistory to enforce it on the people. Geneva had been for generations a city of comfort, of cheerfulness and moderate conviviality, of simple pleasures and happiness. The new code abolished all public amusements, all games, all dances, all that had the appearance of frivolity. Domiciliary visits were instituted and various inquisitorial measures were taken to watch the conduct of every citizen. Offences against sanctimonious decorum, and against the very appearance of vanity, were severely punished. Thus we read that a lady was put in prison for having arranged her hair too coquettishly, so was her chambermaid for having assisted her. Imprisonment was inflicted on merchants for playing cards, on peasants for

using rude language to their oxen, on burghers, for not extinguishing their lamps in the evening at the appointed hour. Such was the origin of that legislation which caused his followers in English-speaking lands to be called "Puritans," from the external purity of morals which they affected.

Calvin crushed all opposition by the severest punishments. Every word uttered against him was a crime, of which banishment was a common penalty. James Grunet, whom Calvin in open council had called a dog, and who, thus provoked, had written some threatening words against the dictator, was punished with death. All the world knows how he caused Servetus to be seized and condemned for having published, though in another land, some heretical theses against the Holy Trinity, and history blames Calvin for the public burning of the stranger.

The worst feature of Calvinism is that it presents the great, good God as an odious tyrant. What human heart can love a heartless autocrat? In our day a strong revulsion against this leading feature of Calvinism has caused some branches of that unfortunate system to revise their creed, and return in part to the ancient doctrines of the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER VII.

HENRY VIII SEVERS ENGLAND FROM THE CHURCH.

England had been an integral portion of the Catholic church since A. D. 596, at which date St. Austin, with his forty monks, arrived there on a mission from Pope Gregory the Great, and soon converted a large portion of the inhabitants. During the nine centuries that had since elapsed, piety had flourished in the land to such an extent that the country was fondly called by its people "the Dowry of Mary;" whereby they wished to signify that they were more devoted than most other nations to the Blessed Virgin Mary, who is so near and dear to her Divine Son. All the cities and towns contained substantial churches, many of them costly and beautiful, and from all of them rose one concordant voice of worship; from every pulpit the same doctrine was taught; and few persons there were in whose mind and heart religion did not hold an honored place.

Monasteries dotted the land, more than twenty to a county, homes of prayer, of learning and labor, from whose portals streams of charity and consolation ever poured forth to all the needy and afflicted of the neighborhood. And England was happy, happy in the blessings of time and of eternity; it was "merry England" then, but it is so no more. The Kingdom was powerful and prosperous, having a full treasury, an industrious, intelligent and contented people, at the time when our story begins, namely in 1509, when Henry VIII, then a most promising youth of eighteen years, succeeded his father, Henry VII, whose many good qualities had been somewhat dimmed by his well-known avarice.

The new King soon became the idol of his people. High ran the universal joy, when, but two months after his ascension to the throne, he was solemnly united in the holy bonds of matrimony to the virtuous princess Catherine, a daughter of Ferdinand, King of Castile and Aragon.

With this affectionate wife he lived seventeen years, during which she bore him three sons and two daughters; but all these died in their infancy, except the princess Mary, who was afterwards

Queen of England. In his public life he was generally reputed to be a model ruler, a model man and a model Christian. He had entered the lists as a foremost champion of the Catholic faith, by publishing a book in defence of the Seven Sacraments against the attacks of Luther, and he had obtained from Pope Leo X, in reward of his zeal, the title of "Defender of the Faith," which he was to wear till death, but which the Kings of England have unjustly retained to the present day. But in his private life, Henry wanted one important virtue; he was all along very unfaithful to his stainless spouse. When he was thirty-five years of age, Queen Catherine being then forty-three, he allowed himself to become infatuated with a young lady of twenty-two, the coquettish Anne Boleyn, and he put no check on his criminal passion. Of course he could not marry her during the lifetime of his lawful wife. It was secretly suggested to him by some flatterers that, with his powerful influence at Rome, he might perhaps obtain a separation from her, on the plea that she had formerly been married to his elder brother Arthur. But the latter had died when a mere boy of fourteen, and the marriage had never been consummated. Besides, whatever impedi-

ment existed had been removed by a formal dispensation of the Church before Henry's marriage.

However, in 1527 the King undertook to plead that this dispensation was invalid, that therefore Queen Catherine was not his lawful wife, and that his delicate conscience did not allow him to live with her. How hypocritical was this pretense is shown to evidence by many facts; in particular by his conduct during the epidemic called "the sweating sickness," which then visited England, and soon entered the royal palace. While he saw the danger of death before him, he became very pious, he confessed his sins every day, and received Holy Communion once a week; and during this season of piety he resumed his marital relations with the Queen until the plague was gone. Then he banished Catherine, recalled Anne Boleyn, and urged the suit for the divorce with renewed energy. But the Supreme Pontiff, Clement VII, though at the time in extraordinary need of Henry's help against powerful enemies, remained firm during the five years that the divorce suit lasted, and finally refused any further litigation in the matter.

In that situation of affairs, an unprincipled courtier, Thomas Cromwell, made a wicked sug-

gestion to the King, advising him to throw off the yoke of Rome, and to declare himself the head of the Church within his own realm; he could then appoint his own ecclesiastical court to dissolve the marriage; many princes in Germany had thus made themselves independent in spiritual things, and they had reaped a rich harvest in appropriating to themselves the lands and buildings of the churches and monasteries.

The King was delighted with this counsel, he at once made Cromwell a member of his privy council, and followed his advice in all its details. For three years he had secretly been living in adulterous union with Anne Boleyn, when, in 1533, her condition of pregnancy made it imperative that some decisive step should be taken to prevent public disgrace. Therefore he married her privately on January 25, but it was given out that the ceremony had taken place on Nov. 24, 1532, because the child was born on September 7, less than eight months after the real nuptials. This child of sin was Elizabeth, who in course of time did probably more harm to England than anyone else has ever done, for she was the principal cause of establishing Protestantism in that land.

To bring about the divorce from Catherine, Henry appointed Thomas Cranmer to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and made him the judge of the case, though the Pope had explicitly reserved the decision to himself. The servile court at last pronounced the sentence of divorce. Cranmer was well chosen for this disgraceful task, for he had himself, after ordination, secretly married a daughter of the Protestant leader, Osiander. Yet this is the infamous man who later on introduced the doctrine of the Reformers into England, and who composed the Book of Common Prayer.

On May 28, 1533, he solemnly declared that the King had been lawfully married to Anne Boleyn, and that he now confirmed the marriage by his pastoral and judicial authority, which he derived from the successors of the Apostles. And yet only four years later, May 28, 1537, this same man again openly and solemnly pronounced "in the name of Christ and for the honor of God," that this same marriage was and always had been, null and void. For Henry had become suspicious of his new wife, he had consigned her to the tower and condemned her to death for adultery, and she was beheaded on the day after her divorce.

Only five months after this, on October 12, his third wife, Jane Seymour, brought forth his son, who became later King Edward VI; the mother died in childbirth. His fourth wife was Anne of Cleves, but he soon divorced her too, and he punished Cromwell with death for having promoted that marriage. He next espoused Catherine Howard, but her also he soon divorced, accusing her of adultery committed before her marriage, and he had her beheaded for constructive treason, as her supposed sin was called. His sixth wife, Catherine Parr, barely escaped the like fate for having presumed to differ from him on a religious question; but when the officers arrived to convey her to the tower, she had appeased his wrath by a most humble apology.

And yet this monstrous tyrant and scandalous adulterer is supposed by many simple folk to have been the chosen instrument of Providence for separating the English Church from dependence on the one pastor of the one fold. When a Pope is bad, he is an exception in his line; but with "Reformers" badness is the rule, and Christ assures us that the tree is known by its fruit.

When Cromwell had advised separation from Rome, in 1532, Henry had immediately accom-

lished the design. For he had at once summoned a convocation of the clergy, and required of it a recognition of his supreme headship of the Church of England. The act was passed, with the clause added, "as far as the law of Christ will allow." By this clause the terrified clergy tried to save their conscience; but it was ignored by the tyrant. At once he appointed the layman Cromwell to be spiritual vicar-general of the realm, and thus he set him over all the bishops. Their powers were suspended, and each of them had to sue for faculties from the King to enable him to govern his flock. Bishops and parliament trembled before the tyrant, and became mere tools of his will. At his bidding parliament passed the bills for divorcing and beheading the Queens, for settling the succession to the throne as pleased him, for condemning any one to death.

To resist his will was to court death, to court death requires a hero, and few courtiers or politicians are heroes. The lord-chancellor, Blessed Thomas More, and Blessed Cardinal Fisher, bishop of Rochester, boldly refused to take the oath of Henry's spiritual supremacy. They were cast into the Tower and beheaded for the faith. So were many religious and seculars,

men and women. The religious houses were confiscated, first the smaller ones; these were charged with relaxation, but the larger ones were declared to be above reproach. Yet soon after the larger ones also were suppressed, and their land and treasures usurped to enrich the King and his flatterers, while the poor people who used to be supported by their charity were left to starve of want, and later on were branded with a red hot iron for begging their bread, or given over as slaves to whoever convicted them of vagrancy. It is hard to trace the finger of God in Henry's work, but it is easy to see in it the influence of the Devil, the world and the flesh.

CHAPTER VIII.

ENGLAND DRIVEN INTO PROTESTANTISM.

Most Anglicans take it for granted that their ancestors deliberately left the Catholic Church on account of its corruptions. They are much mistaken. In England, as in most other lands, the people were driven into the Reformation by fines, imprisonment, terrorism, the rack, the scaffold, and foreign soldiers; all this process was promoted by slanders, misunderstandings and all manners of deplorable deceptions. Look at the facts of history.

When Henry VIII died in 1547, the faith of the English people was still the same that it had been for nearly a thousand years, ever since St. Austin, with his monks, had brought it to them from Rome. True, the Pope was no longer acknowledged by the party in power to be the spiritual head of the Church in the realm; the King had usurped his place. But the people generally clung to the ancient doctrine as firmly

as ever. "To dispel these prejudices," writes Lingard, "Henry issued injunctions that the very name 'Pope' should be carefully erased out of all books employed in the public worship; that every schoolmaster should diligently inculcate the new doctrine on the children entrusted to his care: that all clergymen, from the bishop to the curate, should on every Sunday and holiday teach that the King was the true head of the Church, and that the authority hitherto exercised by the Popes was a usurpation, tamely submitted to by the carelessness or timidity of his predecessors; and the sheriffs in each county should keep a vigilant eye over the conduct of the clergy, and should report to the council the names, not only of those who might neglect these duties, but also of those who might perform them in deed, but with coldness and indifference."

A general espionage was organized to suppress all murmurings. Many priests and laymen were punished with death for resistance to this tyranny. In the north of England the opposition was so vigorous as to lead to a succession of rebellions; but the Duke of Norfolk, with the aid of disciplined troops, put down the unorganized multitude.

When open opposition was suppressed, and the citizens were cowed by terror, the King drew up a brief summary of religious faith in six articles, the Bloody Six, as even Froude calls them, because those who denied any of them were burned at the stake. The Catholics who refused to take the oath of Henry's supremacy in spiritual matters were hanged and quartered. There was no free choice in those days in any country that is now Protestant.

After Henry's death, his son, Edward VI, a boy of nine years, succeeded him, with the Duke of Somerset as temporal and Cranmer as spiritual ruler during the minority. The latter had been till then a Protestant in secret; he now threw off the mask and imposed the Reformed doctrines on the realm. At his dictation one law after another was enacted by parliament to change the religion of the people. The celibacy of the clergy was abolished. The Mass was at first retained "until a better order of service could be devised;" but Communion under both kinds was enjoined. The election of bishops was withdrawn from the deans and chapters and vested wholly in the crown. The Book of Common Prayer was completed and adopted by parliament in 1549, as having been "dictated by the

aid of the Holy Ghost." All beneficed clergymen had to subscribe to this decree and use the new service instead of Holy Mass. The Six Articles of Henry were suppressed and forty-two others substituted for them.

In all this change of religion the people had no choice, nor the clergy either. Bishop Gardiner objected vigorously, saying we should obey God rather than man; he was sent to the Tower. The people rose in rebellion throughout the kingdom, but they were crushed with the aid of foreign troops. The Protestant historian Hallam writes: "The common people looked to their own teachers as guides in faith, and the main body of the clergy were certainly very reluctant to tear themselves, at the pleasure of a disappointed monarch, in the most dangerous crisis of religion, from the bosom of Catholic unity;" and again: "This is a somewhat humiliating admission, that the Protestant faith was imposed upon our ancestors by a foreign army."

Edward died young, July 6, 1553. But his death was first kept secret till another Protestant could have been installed in his stead. Happily Mary, the legitimate heir, was notified by the Earl of Arundel. She at once unfurled her banner and the country rallied to her support.

She who was dubbed by her enemies "Bloody Mary" spared Cranmer and other leaders of the plot for nearly two years before she consented to sign their death warrant; many she pardoned entirely. It was only after Wyatt's rebellion that she adopted really severe measures against the restless rebels who plotted for the restoration of Protestantism. In this she followed the bad example of her enemies, of whom Hallam writes: "Persecution is the deadly sin of the Reformed churches, that which cools every honest man's zeal for their cause in proportion as his reading becomes more extensive." Nearly the whole of English literature for three hundred years was a conspiracy to hide this truth.

Of course, Mary restored the Catholic religion, which was still that of eleven-twelfths of her subjects. She reinstated the Catholic bishops who had remained faithful; the married bishops and clergy retired or were removed. Cranmer had purposely so changed the forms of ordination for priests and consecration for bishops as to make these sacred Orders invalid. Of the men thus ordained some were ordained anew in the proper manner, others retired among the laity, where they belonged.

The greatest difficulty in the way of reunion with Rome was the large number of influential men who had fattened on the Church property. Bishop Gardiner, Mary's lord chancellor, obtained from the supreme Pontiff leave for them to retain the spoils; it was like throwing the cargo overboard to save the ship. Cardinal Pole, of the royal blood of England, was sent to his native country from Rome as legate of the Pope; everything was done that conscience allowed to restore peace to all. The entire nation was solemnly absolved in parliament of all censures incurred under Henry's and Edward's reign. Unfortunately for all concerned, Mary died in 1558, and was succeeded by Elizabeth, who had become a Catholic and had sworn to the sincerity of her conversion. But finding that the Pope would not acknowledge her legitimacy, she determined to follow her father's example and make herself the head of Church and state. She took up the Reformed doctrines as a matter of state policy, and by forty-four years of persecution she forced Protestantism on the English people.

She chose William Cecil as the principal instrument of her tyranny. The plan he devised was this: to forbid all Catholic sermons, to ter-

rorize the clergy, to make them odious to the laity, to remove obnoxious magistrates, to restore the Edwardine liturgy, and to do all this cautiously under various false pretenses. He packed a new parliament, lords and commons, at the opening of which the Queen assumed the imperious tone of her father, stating she would do what she thought best, but would prefer to have their assent rather than to act without it. Next she forced the parliament to abolish the Catholic religion. The convocation of the clergy and the faculties of the two great universities entered a vigorous protest against this apostasy. Thereupon the two most influential bishops were sent to the Tower. The rest, though terrorized, did not yield, but their protest was simply ignored. All the acts of Henry and Edward abolished under Mary were re-enacted. The new whorship was enforced under penalty of fines, confiscations and death. Under Henry the articles to be believed were six; under Edward these were abolished and forty-two others were put instead; under Elizabeth there were thirty-nine, which remain to this day. They are sworn to by every Anglican clergyman in England; but half of these ministers do not believe in them. Only one bishop consented to

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take the oath required, that he might keep his see; all the others were deposed, many of them imprisoned. So many of the lower clergy withdrew that laymen, mostly mechanics, had to be employed in some places to read the service. Priests who said Mass in secret and ministered to the faithful were hunted like wolves, and when found they were hanged, disemboweled while still alive, and their limbs exposed in public places. The faithful who harbored them or who assisted at Holy Mass were imprisoned and tortured to make them betray their friends. By such persecutions, continued under several reigns, Protestantism was gradually propagated among the English people. Once separated from Rome, private judgment gradually divided the nation into countless sects.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

In England, as we have seen, the Reformation began with the throne and was forced upon the people; in Scotland it began with a small but active portion of the people and was forced upon the government; once seated on the throne it worked downward on the entire nation. It resembled a vast conflagration which begins with a match applied at the bottom of a pile of wood, shoots upward and spreads over the surface, kindling first all the dry portions it meets, and gradually consuming everything from the top to the bottom.

The dry branches were the corrupt members of the Church; and they were many in that land, more than elsewhere, especially among the clergy. For the freedom of ecclesiastical elections had been much violated, the rights of the Sovereign Pontiffs over the appointment of bishops ignored, and the Kings had often thrust

their favorites into vacant bishoprics and other important benefices. For instance, King James V had made his illegitimate sons abbots and priors of Holyrood House, Kelso, Melrose, Coldingham and St. Andrew's. Under such circumstances inferior benefices were often openly put up for sale, or bestowed on unworthy candidates, sometimes on illiterate minions of courtiers.

Among such clergymen religious scandals were frequent, and all manners of abuses were multiplied. The laity was among the most remote corners of the Church, so that supervision and interference of the Roman Pontiff were very difficult, and therefore rare and inefficient. Such demoralization of the clergy could not fail to react on the laity, extinguishing in their hearts all reverence and confidence. Certainly there were at the time still large numbers of holy priests and monks and nuns; multitudes among the laity remained pious, fervent and faithful Catholics; but the depraved members of society are apt to be the most noisy and most active, and are always the most unprincipled in their use of means.

Such is the ordinary source of religious corruption in history; the secular power usurps the

appointment of the Church dignitaries, the unworthy bishops install unworthy men in lower benefices, scandals and abuses degrade the clergy in the eyes of the laity, who lose confidence in their spiritual guides and reverence for religion itself. The disgust of the good Catholics in Scotland, and the gibes and insults of the ill-disposed attracted more attention year after year. It was the time when Luther had just succeeded in revolutionizing religion in Germany, Calvin was triumphant in Geneva, Henry VIII had made himself the head of the Church in England. The most restless malcontents in Scotland were looking for a religious revolution in their own country as a cure of the existing evils. But many of them had a further design. They noticed that in all regions where the Reformation gained ground, the lords were enriched by the appropriation of Church lands and the treasures of the altars and the monasteries; only there was no sovereign in Scotland willing to promote the confiscation. They plotted among themselves secretly and perseveringly and at last accomplished their wicked purpose.

Their first effort was to foster the popular discontent. Revilings and ridicule of the demoralized clergy went far towards discrediting the

ancient doctrine. Poetry contributed its aid, and fostered heretical views there as it had done in Germany. Sir David Lindsay thrilled the heart of the nation by lines as vigorous as they were elegant. The same wordy warfare was there used to discredit the clergy and the Church which was afterwards so successfully employed by Voltaire to destroy the nobles and Christianity in France, where he prepared the way for the Reign of Terror.

The soul of the Reformation in Scotland, the counterpart of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin on the continent, was John Knox, the founder of the Presbyterians. He was born in 1505, ordained a priest in 1530; he was a man of learning and uncommon ability, a powerful preacher, but exceedingly coarse in his language. From 1535 he was a Protestant at heart, though he wore the mask of orthodoxy till 1542. A few years later, in open violation of his solemn vow of celibacy, he married a Miss Bowes, at Berwick, on the Scottish borders.

In 1544 Henry VIII plotted with some Scottish traitors to get possession of Mary, the heir to the throne of Scotland, who was then an infant only one year old. He was thwarted in his criminal design by a true Scottish patriot,

Cardinal Beatoun. But he had his revenge in the murder of that noble prelate, perpetrated by the foiled conspirators. Knox openly approved the crime, and defended it as a "godly deed," which was to promote the work of the Reformation. He joined the band of guilty wretches, furnished them with armed defenders, with whom he was taken prisoner and carried to France by the allies of Mary.

Thence, after two years' detention, he passed into England, where he fraternized with Cranmer and his friends, who were then engaged in drawing up the Book of Common Prayer. When Mary restored Catholicity there, he fled to Geneva, to imbibe there, from Calvin's teachings, the predestinarianism and the fanaticism, which he was to infuse into his followers. In 1555, he entered Scotland secretly, and encouraged the lords, who, that same year, entered into their first "Solemn League and Covenant" to bring about the establishment of the new gospel. Two years later they went further, and swore to uproot the "abominations and idolatry" of the ancient faith.

The Queen dowager, who was governing the country during the minority of Mary, strove to conciliate the rebels. She offered them full

liberty of worship in the practice of the reformed doctrines, but they would not accept the offer; they had covenanted together for the total destruction of the Catholic religion. This is admitted by Knox himself, for in a letter which he wrote in 1559, he said that his party obtained permission for eight days to practise religious liberty as they understood it, and he adds: "In the which (days), the abbey of Lindores, a place of black monks, distant from St. Andrew's twelve miles, we reformed; their altars overthrew we, their idols, vestments of idolatry and Mass books we burned in their presence, and commanded them to cast away their monkish habits."

Knox and his brother preachers marched through the land, with the assistance of the covenanted rebels, establishing along their route the glorious Reformation, in the light of burning churches and monasteries, with their burning libraries and works of art. The preaching aroused the mob, and the mob did the work of destruction; for it was a solemn injunction of the Calvinistic creed, still contained, we believe, in the Presbyterian confession of faith, forcibly to remove all false worship and all monuments of idolatry.

The Protestant Hutchinson writes: "The Reformation, in its violence, was a greater disgrace to religion than all the errors it was intended to subvert. Reformation has hitherto always appeared in the form of a zealot full of fanatic fury, with violence subduing, but through madness creating almost as many mischiefs in its oversights as it overthrew errors in its pursuits. Religion has received a greater shock from the present struggle to suppress some formularies and save some scruples than it ever did by the growth of superstition."

The dowager Queen-regent offered, over again, the free exercise of their religion to the covenanted Protestant lords, but these would not accept the offer in good faith; they claimed besides the right to remove "false worship and the monuments of idolatry." By this term they meant especially the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, which is the center of Catholic worship. Protestants generally in our day have no conception of the bitter fanaticism with which the early Reformers in various lands persecuted their fellow countrymen who persevered in their ancestral faith.

In Scotland particularly they carried their ferocity to the most shocking excesses. They

did not even allow their young Queen Mary, when she came home from France, to have Mass said by her chaplains in her own palace. Miss Agnes Strickland, herself a Protestant, writes in her valuable work, "Lives of the Queens of Scotland," as follows: "On that morning, being Sunday (the first day after her return), Mary ordered Mass to be said in the Chapel Royal, resolutely claiming for herself and the Catholic members of her household the same liberty of conscience and freedom of worship which she frankly guaranteed to her subjects in general, without reservation or exceptions. The hearts of the congregation (the Protestants) were wonderfully commoved when they learned that the Queen, though she refrained from persecuting interference with their mode of worship, meant to go to Heaven her own way. Patrick, Lord Lindsay, braced on his armour, and, rushing into the close at the head of a party of the Church militant, brandished his sword and shouted: "The idolater priest shall die the death." They attacked the Queen's almoner, and would have slain him, if he had not fled for refuge into the presence of his royal mistress." On the following Sunday Knox preached on the evil of idolatry, and he expressed in his ser-

mon such fanatical hatred of the ancient worship as to say: "One Mass was more fearful unto him than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in one part of the realm on purpose to suppress the whole religion." These very words are attributed to him by his warm admirer, the historian of his life, the preacher McCrie. The acts of open violence by which the Reformation was spread from one city to another, by the desecration of churches, the plundering and sacking of monasteries, etc., had begun in 1559. In 1560 the rebels had formed a parliament without commission from their sovereign, and they had established in that meeting the new religion on the ruins of the old; they had abolished the papal power and enacted punishments against all who still had recourse to it; they had abolished the Holy Mass, and enacted, for the priests who should continue to offer it and the faithful who attended the service, forfeiture for the first offense, banishment for the second, and death for the third. The new confession of faith was modeled on that of Calvin. The dowager Queen marched with an army against the rebels, and had got the better of them so that their power was on the point of being crushed, when it was saved and made triumphant by the open support

of Queen Elizabeth, who had so far aided them in secret ways. The same Protestant historian of Knox, McCrie, quoted above, and who substantially admits nearly everything we have narrated, says, on this matter: "The disaster, which caused the Protestant army to leave Edinburgh, turned out to the advantage of their cause. It obliged the English court to abandon the line of cautious policy, which they had hitherto pursued. On February 27, 1560, they concluded a formal treaty with the lords of the congregation; and in the beginning of April, the English army entered Scotland," etc. What secret plotting had begun was consummated by open violence, as far as the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland was concerned.

As to the subsequent life of the unfortunate but truly glorious Queen Mary, and her heroic death, we shrink from entering here upon the sickening story of the intrigues, slanders, treason, murder and forgeries by which all this was brought about. Of forgeries the Anglican parson Whitaker says, and with his words we can appropriately close the narrative of the Reformation in Scotland: "Forgery—I blush for the honor of Protestantism, while I write—seems to have been peculiar to the Reformed. I look in

vain for one of these accursed outrages among the disciples of Popery.”

CHAPTER X.

THE REFORMATION IN SWEDEN.

Few American readers are familiar with the events which brought about the Reformation in Sweden; and yet it is a very interesting chapter in history. There is in it a striking absence of even the pretext of abuses to be reformed. The people generally were pious Catholics, the pastors faithful and devout in the discharge of their sacred duties, the religious, male and female, led lives of fervor and charity, which endeared them to God and man; the bishops in particular gave the good example of every Christian virtue. Sins there were, of course, but few, if any, gross scandals are recorded. Here still more than any where else, Lutheranism was imposed upon an unwilling population by a cruel tyrant with the aid of a foreign army.

The tyrant was Gustaf Wasa, who had begun his public career as the deliverer of his country

from the foreign and unbearable yoke of Christiern II, of Denmark. This signal service to his native land gained him the boundless love and confidence of his grateful fellow countrymen. They had bravely flocked to his standard at the time of common oppression, and when the victory was achieved and liberty secured, they enthusiastically offered him and pressed upon his apparent reluctance, the Kingly crown of rescued Sweden. This was in 1523.

Before allowing himself to be crowned by the Catholic hierarchy, who would have made him swear fidelity to the Church, he planned and executed a religious revolution as thorough as his civil revolution had been. For during the tyrannous rule of Christiern, he had spent some months in Germany, and he had there become enamored by the Protestant plan, suggested by Luther, of vesting the spiritual power in the temporal ruler, and allowing him to appropriate the riches of the Church. This plan he undertook to adopt for Sweden.

For this purpose, carefully concealed at first, he needed an obsequious parliament and a body of foreign heretical troops.

The troops he could easily hire, and the religious treasures would readily furnish the money to pay them; and circumstances were exceptionally favorable for a total reorganization of the parliament. For in 1521 the Danish monarch Christiern, on occasion of his being crowned as King of Sweden, had invited the leading nobles and bishops to a banquet, and during it made a general butchery of his guests. This "Bloody Bath," as it is called in Swedish history, had left the government disorganized. So Wasa managed to have new senators chosen from among his friends, and he appointed bishops of his own choice; still, even of these bishops some proved to be in time of trial faithful to their sacred trust.

His further plan of action, to make himself spiritual head of the realm and master of all the ecclesiastical property, was skilfully devised and vigorously carried out. The Lutheran doctrine was the means, not the end intended by the monarch. But it was a necessary means, for as long as Sweden remained sound in doctrine, his most violent measures could have no lasting effect. For this purpose he invited to his court some learned Lutherans, in particular two brothers, Olaus and Lawrence Petri, and, to

give them credit with the people, he treated them with the utmost reverence. Olaus was allowed publicly to defend Lutheranism in presence of the diet, and was appointed preacher in the cathedral of Stockholm, while his brother Lawrence was made to teach theology at Upsala. The former declaimed boldly against "the errors of Popery," the latter instilled the poison of heresy into the young theologians.

Wasa next required the Church to pay his foreign troops out of the revenue of the clergy. He removed an obnoxious bishop, and forced the chapter to depose the archbishop and to choose another, John Magnus by name, whom he selected to fill the vacancy thus created. This was a prelate of gentle character, whom he expected to make his pliant tool. But soon after, finding him unyielding in his fidelity to duty, he publicly mocked and insulted him, and banished him from Sweden. The good man died at last in poverty in a hospital at Rome.

Two recently deposed bishops, Knut and Sunnanwader, true Catholics—else he would not have discarded them—were accused of stirring up a revolt of the faithful. The King appeared himself as principal accuser, and of course they were condemned. We will let a Lutheran his-

torian of Sweden, Anders Fryxell, describe the scene of their execution; it is a specimen page of the record of cruelty, which disgraced the reign of Wasa, even according to so devoted a patriot and pronounced a Lutheran. He writes: "The seditious (?) were forced to make a degrading entry into Stockholm, riding backwards on two half-starved horses, dressed in ragged palls, Master Knut wearing a bark mitre on his head, Peter Sunnanwader a crown of straw and a wooden sword by his side. Crowds of people in disguise followed them mocking and teasing the unfortunates. The procession passed through some of the principal streets of the town, and stopped at last on the great square, where they were led to the whipping post, and made to drink with the executioner, hooted at and derided by the mob all the while. Shortly after this ungenerous treatment, they were both conducted to the place of execution, beheaded and impaled; Peter Sunnanwader in Upsala, 18th of February, 1527, and Master Knut three days later in Stockholm. The fame of these proceedings spread like wild fire through the kingdom. Gustaf had ordered the ignominious procession through Stockholm in order to decrease the reverence of the people for their bishops, but it was inter-

puted as an ungenerous victor's mockery over the vanquished, and the execution itself excited still greater displeasure. Such an attempt against such men was extraordinary, nay, unheard of. The priests represented the criminals as the fallen defenders of clerical freedom; the friends of the Stures as innocent victims of their devotion to the family, and the Roman Catholics as martyrs to the true faith, sacrificed by the hand of a heretic and godless King."

The foreign mercenaries were the chief means by which Wasa was enabled to accomplish his wicked designs. He played them off on all occasions, whether to cajole his people, and especially the clergy, out of their money, or to threaten them into servile compliance with his will. The same Lutheran historian, Fryxell, writes: "At the meeting held at Wastena in 1521, it was determined that the foreign cavalry should be quartered in the cloister; at the meeting of Stockholm (1525), that the tithes of that year should be employed to pay off the foreign soldiery. The priests opposed it, but the King clearly proved that these expenses were necessary, and the nobility, citizens and peasants, glad at not having to pay themselves, were well satisfied that the priests should do it. This bait

Gustaf often employed to get the people on his side against the prelates of Rome."

At last, in 1527, the King convened a diet at Westeras, at which he struck the final blow. He caused the Lutherans and Catholics to discuss the Reformation doctrines before himself and the whole assembly, terrorizing the Catholic champions and putting them designedly at a disadvantage. Before the meeting began the bishops held a secret session in the Cathedral, and there pledged themselves to one another to stand firmly by the ancient faith and union with the Holy See; but they were so overawed by the dangers awaiting them that they buried the parchment recording their agreement under a stone, whence it was not produced till in later years.

At the diet the law was reluctantly passed which the tyrant dictated, abolishing the Catholic religion, and establishing Lutheranism in its stead, and confiscating to the King all the ecclesiastical property. Again Fryxell says:

"The diet of Westeras did not last long; scarcely eight days passed ere it was closed; but never at any diet has more been executed; never have any resolutions brought about a more complete change. The whole tremendous power of

Popery in all its members was crushed. Deprived of their riches, their privileges, their great consideration, they (the clergy) were open to the continued and often unjust exactions of the crown and the nobility, to the attacks of the Lutheran priests, and left without power to protect themselves from the encroachments of enemies on every side. The crown of Sweden, which before had been utterly impoverished and unable to pay half its expenses, became rich at once."

The King now appointed the Protestant Lawrence Petri to be archbishop of Upsala; by wily promises that the Pope would sanction the appointment, he induced four bishops, his former appointees, to perform the consecration. Bishop Spalding makes the following important statement on this subject: "The consecration having been duly performed by bishops having undoubtedly the episcopal character themselves, though uncanonical and unlawful, was certainly valid; and thus the present Swedish Lutheran bishops, unless the rite of consecration has since been materially altered, are invested with the episcopal character; though, being severed from the communion of the Church, they have not canonical jurisdiction or any lawful authority whatever."

Soon after the consecration of the archbishop he was publicly married in his cathedral. Then, as Fryxell says, "a general murmur was heard; the ignorant (?) populace threatened to kill the foreign heretic and the apostate King." Innovation after innovation was introduced; the people could stand it no longer; insurrections arose, were repressed, and sprung up again. But the foreign troops were well armed and well disciplined; and the skilfull tyrant forced the rebels after each rising to deliver their leaders into his hands; and so new combinations to shake off the yoke of the foreign religion became impossible. Gradually violent opposition subsided, the faithful clergy and the soundest laymen died off, and the Reformation remained in undisputed possession.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REFORMATION IN DENMARK, NORWAY AND ICELAND.

1. DENMARK—Christian, or Christiern, II ruled over Denmark from 1513 to 1523. Being exceedingly fond of autocratic power, he undertook to break down the influence of the nobility and the clergy in all portions of his dominions. We have seen how he attempted to do so in Sweden by the massacre of the Bloody Bath; and how utterly he was foiled by the insurrection of Gustaf Wasa, who achieved the independence of his native country.

In Denmark, Christiern chiefly attacked the clergy, who were very powerful there. The means he chose for this purpose was the introduction into the country of Lutheranism, and its ordinary accompaniment the confiscation of all the Church property. It is the old story over, only diversified in its details.

Christiern was not as wily as Wasa; he went straight to the point, not doubting but he could crush all opposition. He invited to Copenhagen a disciple of Luther, Martin by name, and he installed him as bishop in his capital city. The indignant nation protested with a common voice; but he heeded not. On the contrary, the deposed archbishop was put to death, and laws oppressive of the clergy were proclaimed. Then all parties combined to dethrone him; he fled, and, after various vicissitudes he was cast into a frightful prison, from which he did not come forth alive.

The throne of Denmark was next offered to his uncle, Frederick I, of Holstein. He too, unfortunately, believed in reformation and confiscation, which was the great temptation of the times. Yet when accepting the kingly crown he took a solemn oath to maintain the Catholic religion. He soon began a secret, and next an open persecution of the clergy; and he defended his conduct, in 1527, before the diet of Odessa, on the plea that he had pledged himself to maintain the Catholic religion, but not to tolerate its abuses. Among these alleged abuses he counted the primacy of the Apostolic See. He arrogated to himself the confirmation of all elections to bishoprics. He granted to the Lutherans all

the rights which had been enjoyed so far by Catholics alone; a measure which, as the result proved, practically meant the protecting of heresy and the oppression of the ancient Church.

At the death of Frederic I in 1533, his son Christian III, though a Protestant, was made King, on the explicit condition that he would not be an enemy to Catholicity. How far he violated this promise, and forced the country into apostasy, can be clearly understood from the following account taken word for word from a Protestant writer in the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*: "As soon as Christian III was firmly seated on the throne, he turned his attention to the state of religion, and resolved to carry into execution a plan which had been communicated to him by Gustavus (Wasa) for reducing the power of the clergy. He accordingly assembled the senate with great secrecy, and they immediately came to the resolution to annex all the Church lands, towns, fortresses and villages to the crown, and to abolish forever the temporal power of the clergy. All the bishops in the different parts of the kingdom were arrested about the same time; and, that the nation might not be alarmed by this extraordinary measure, the King convoked the states at Copenhagen; the nobility

were ordered to be there in person, the commons by their deputies, but the clergy were not summoned to attend. After a strong speech from the King against the rapacity of the clergy, the senate confirmed the decree of the diet; and the power and privileges of the clergy were declared to be annihilated forever. The senate next settled the succession in the Duke Frederic, the King's eldest son. In return for these concessions, the King confirmed the nobility in all their rights, particularly in what they called the right of life and death over their vassals, and of punishing them in what manner they thought proper. Thus was the power of the clergy destroyed in Denmark; but the conclusion which the nobles drew from this, that their own authority and power would be so much the more augmented, was soon proved to be erroneous. For, as a great part of the crown lands had fallen into the hands of the clergy, these lands being again annexed to the crown, the royal authority was considerably increased. The oppression of the farmers still continued, and the nobles displayed a restless and increasing desire to prevent them from ever rising in the state; for the senate passed a law, forbidding any person, either ecclesiastic or secular, who was not noble, to buy any freehold

lands in the kingdom, or to endeavor to acquire such lands by any other title."

The existence of the Catholic Church in Denmark and the liberty of the people thus fell together at one blow. It should here be remarked that in all other lands too in which the Reformation was established by main force, tyranny at the same time began to rule supreme and popular rights were greatly impaired. And yet, such has been the falsification of modern history, especially in English speaking countries, that the impression generally prevails that the Reformation meant the end of tyranny and the dawn of popular liberty. With the exception of the Netherlands, whose story is peculiar, the direct contrary is everywhere in evidence.

The diet of Copenhagen had taken place in 1536. The bishops cast into prison at the time could not regain their liberty except on condition of resigning their sees. All did so, except the heroic bishop, Roennow, who remained in prison till death eight years later came to make him a glorious martyr for the faith. To complete the work of the Reformation in Denmark, a Lutheran preacher, Bugenhagen, was imported from Wittenberg. By his advice the King appointed seven "superintendents" to replace the deposed

bishops. In 1546 a new diet, held at Copenhagen, abolished all the civil and political rights of the Catholics, who could thenceforth hold no civil office, or even inherit any possessions; while death was decreed against all priests and against those who should harbor them.

2. NORWAY remained subject to Denmark after Sweden had thrown off the yoke. The bishop of Drontheim was unfortunately a great friend of Christiern II, and promoted the introduction of the novel doctrines. But the Norwegians were attached to the ancient faith; nothing but violence could conquer them.

When Christiern II was expelled from Denmark, the bishop of Drontheim was forced to fly from Norway. Later on, in 1536, the Norwegians refused to accept Christiern III as their King; they rebelled and slew or expelled his supporters. He sent an army into Norway and completely conquered it. Then he totally deprived it of its autonomy, and placed his own creatures in all the leading offices. As for religion, stringent laws were passed by which all the inferior clergy were compelled either to embrace Lutheranism or to fly the country. Many, chiefly monks, preferred exile to apostasy. Here again, as in so many other lands, civil liberty and Catholicity perished together.

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3. ICELAND had been converted to Christianity about 1,000 A. D. From the ninth to the thirteenth century it was the center of Northern enterprise. Its government was a species of republic; its laws were wise; it was in the golden age of its civilization. But in 1380 it was annexed to the Danish crown; in 1482 it lost by a plague one-half of its population. Yet the land was beginning to regain something of its former prosperity, when the Reformation came to inflict on its people a sadder and more permanent injury than the plague had done.

The history of this catastrophe is simple enough, and can be told in a few lines. Christian III of Denmark attempted to Protestantize Iceland. Clergy and people rose in rebellion against his tyranny. The King sent over a numerous and well equipped body of foreign troops, which ultimately overpowered the brave, but ill-organized citizens. Their leading bishop, John Areson, was seized and put to death. The same violent and arbitrary laws were imposed upon the conquered land which had destroyed the Church in Denmark and Norway. Once more the Reformation was forced upon an unwilling nation by means of foreign bayonets.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REFORMATION IN OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

We have so far sketched in rapid outlines the establishment of the Reformation in most of those European lands in which it obtained permanent dominion. The situation about A. D. 1560 is thus described by Prescott in his History of Philip II: "Scarcely forty years had elapsed since Luther had thrown down the gauntlet to the Vatican by publicly burning the Papal bull at Wittenberg. Since that time his doctrines had been received in Denmark and Sweden. In England after a vacillation of three reigns, Protestantism, in the peculiar form which it still wears, was become the established religion of the state. The fiery cross had gone over the hills and valleys of Scotland, and thousands and tens of thousands had gathered to hear the word of life from the lips of Knox. The doctrines of Luther were spread over the

northern parts of Germany, and freedom of worship was finally guaranteed there by the treaty of Passau. The Low Countries were the 'debatable land' on which the various sects of Reformers, the Lutheran, the Calvinist, the English Protestant, contended for mastery with the established Church. Calvinism was embraced by some of the cantons of Switzerland, and at Geneva its apostle had fixed his headquarters. His doctrines were widely circulated through France, till the divided nation was prepared to plunge into that worst of all wars in which the hand of brother is raised against brother. The cry of reform had passed even over the Alps, and was heard under the walls of the Vatican. It had crossed the Pyrenees; the King of Navarre declared himself a Protestant, and the spirit of the Reformation had insinuated itself secretly into Spain, and had taken hold, as we have seen, of the middle and southern provinces of the kingdom."

The more carefully one studies the Reformation, especially in its early stages, the more clearly he understands that "religious liberty" in the mind of those sectaries meant the liberty to tear down what they called the idolatrous worship of the Catholic Church, the Holy Mass,

the altars, the sacred images, the monasteries of the monks, the convents of the nuns, driving out and murdering the faithful bishops and priests, and vesting the spiritual power in temporal princes, who at once proceeded to plunder whatever riches the piety of centuries had dedicated to the Divine service. This was the Reformation in a nutshell.

It was absolutely necessary for every Catholic nation to refuse and forcibly put down that species of religious liberty, and to use for the purpose inquisitions, imprisonments, banishments, executions of the leaders in heresy, etc. All this was at times carried to excess, as is always the case in civil wars as well as in foreign wars. Catholics waged war on rebellious citizens; for in those days heresy meant war upon the old religion, and nowhere, in no single country, did Protestantism prevail except by war. The Protestant Bishop Stubbs writes: "Where Protestantism was an idea only, as in France and Italy, it was crushed out by the Inquisition; where, in conjunction with political power, and sustained by ecclesiastical confiscation, it became a physical force, there it was lasting. It is not a pleasant view to take of the doctrinal changes, to see that where the move-

ments toward it were pure and unworldly, it failed; where it was seconded by territorial greed and political animosity, it succeeded." And again: "The instruments by which it (the Reformation) was accomplished were despotic monarchs, unprincipled ministers, a rapacious aristocracy, and venal, slavish parliaments. It sprung from brutal passion, was nurtured in selfish and corrupt policy, and was consummated in bloodshed and horrid crime."

1. IRELAND is a striking example of all this. If ever any land was made desolate by the burning zeal of fanatics who strove to force their own novel notions upon an unwilling population, it was the fair isle of Erin; and the crushing process was continued during three long centuries. I would not attempt to write the history of that bloody business; for to write history a man must be cool and unperturbed by passion, and I do not see how I could keep cool while handling such a theme. I am no Irishman, nor of Irish descent; but I feel my pen warming in my hand, and my cheeks glowing, and my heart throbbing with indignation and compassion at the thought of such wrongs, such cruel and persistent violence used for generations to stamp their religion out of a faithful, heroic people.

Let a bigoted Protestant, the poet Spenser, speak in my place. He was in Ireland at the close of the Desmond rebellion, and he got three thousand acres of the confiscated Irish land as his share of the booty. He wrote: "Out of every corner of the woods and glynns they (the Catholic people) came creeping forth on their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat dead carrions; happy were they who could find them. In a short space there was none almost left; and a most populous and plentiful country was suddenly void of man and beast."

This is but one scene in a tragedy of woes, more pathetic than Shakespeare's tragedy of King Lear. But all this is deeply written in the mind and the heart of the entire Irish race, and need not be recounted to prove that God has heroic servants in every age, and that He will not allow the gates of hell to prevail against His own faithful friends. Here are a few more scenes of this sad tragedy. I will give the words of D'Arcy McGee: "While the war against the Desmonds was raging in the south, under pretense of suppressing rebellion, no one could help seeing that in reality it was directed against the

Catholic religion. If any had doubted the real objects, events which quickly followed Elizabeth's victory soon convinced them. Dermid O'Hurley, archbishop of Cashel, being taken by the victors, was brought to Dublin in 1552. Here the Protestant primate Loftus besieged him in vain for nearly a year to deny the Pope's supremacy, and acknowledge the Queen's. Finding him of unshaken faith, he was brought out for martyrdom on Stephen's Green, adjoining the city; and there he was tied to a tree, his boots filled with combustibles, and his limbs stripped and smeared with oil and alcohol. Alternately they lighted and quenched the flames which enveloped him, prolonging his tortures through four successive days. Still remaining firm, before dawn of the fifth day they finally consumed his last remains of life, and left his calcined bones among the ashes at the foot of his stake. The relics gathered by some pious friends were hidden away in the half-ruined church of St. Kevin, near that outlet of Dublin called Kevinsport. In Desmond's tour of Kilmallock were then taken Patrick O'Haley, bishop of Mayo; Fr. Cornelius, a Franciscan, and some others. To extort from them confessions of the new faith, their thighs were broken with hammers, and

their arms crushed by levers. They died without yielding, and the instruments of their torture were buried with them in the Franciscan convent of Askeaton. The Most Rev. Richard Creigh, primate of all Ireland, was the next victim." Catholicity in Ireland has outlived the storm of three centuries of persecution, and is become the seed of salvation to as many millions in our age all over the earth as there were thousands of victims in the age of Queen Elizabeth and after.

2. FRANCE. The Reformation failed in Ireland because drowned in the victims' blood; it also failed in France, but there it was drowned in the blood of Catholics and Huguenots alike. Spalding's History of the Reformation briefly sums up the story as follows: "The whole history of the Reformation in France may be related in two sentences: The Calvinists sought by intrigue and by force of arms to gain the ascendancy and to establish the new religion on the ruins of the old; but after a long struggle they signally failed, and France was preserved to the Church. Long and terrible was the contest between the turbulent Protestant minority and the determined Catholic majority, to settle the momentous question which should finally

control the destinies of France; for nearly a hundred years civil war, rendered still fiercer by the infusion of the element of religious zeal and fanaticism, waged with but brief intervals of pacification throughout the country, which it distracted and rendered desolate. Finally the Catholics, meeting intrigue with intrigue, and repelling force by force, remained in the ascendent, and the Protestant party, once so aspiring, dwindled down into an insignificant fraction of the population." The expression "meeting intrigue with intrigue" refers to the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The Protestants everywhere, and all along their lines of conquest, used intrigue and deceit, as we have shown in these papers; for once they were outdone in the use of that vile weapon in France, not by the Catholic Church, nor by Catholic bishops or priests, but by an unprincipled Queen dowager, Catherine de Medicis, an infidel at heart, though happening to belong to the Catholic party. We detest her wicked plot, even though without it France might have been lost to the Church, for no evil may ever be done that good may come of it. Yet, let Protestants remember, they have no right to complain that they were that time outwitted in wickedness.

3. **THE NETHERLANDS** we will consider last. This region comprised the present kingdoms of Holland and Belgium, with some minor provinces, part of which are now in France. The country was very prosperous when the Reformation began, but it was subject to the dominion of the Spanish crown. It became restless of the foreign yoke, when the Calvinists from France, Protestant immigrants from England, the intrigue and subsidies of Elizabeth, and the Lutheran notions which the youths of Flanders brought home on their return from the German universities, made that region a hotbed of rebellion against Philip II and his Catholic governors. Civil independence was the boon in sight, the union of all the malcontents in mutual co-operation was the means, and the malcontents were chiefly heretics. The result was there, as in every land to which the new gospel came, a period of war, which in the Netherlands lasted about half a century. It finished in the establishment of the Dutch republic. As soon as this was established, it proceeded to stamp out Catholicity within its boundaries. The Protestant historian, Menzel, puts the matter thus: "The Calvinistic tenets and forms of worship were established to the exclusion of those of the

Catholics and Lutherans. The cruelties practiced by the Catholics were equalled by those inflicted on the opposing party by the Reformers. The most horrid cruelties were perpetrated by Sonoi, by whom the few Catholics remaining in Holland were exterminated, A. D. 1577." So says Menzel; but how can we believe that the remaining Catholics were few, since the first Protestant service had been held only three years before, as he informs us? Either there must have been very many, or there must have been a vast exodus of the faithful. The extent to which the Reformation had taken possession of Europe by 1570 is thus stated by Macaulay in his Criticism of Ranke's History of the Popes: "In fifty years from the day in which Luther publicly renounced communion with the Church of Rome and burned the bull of Leo before the gates of Wittenberg, Protestantism attained its highest ascendancy—an ascendancy which it soon lost, and which it has never regained. In England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Livonia, Prussia, Saxony, Hesse, Wurttemberg, the Palatinate, in several cantons of Switzerland, in the northern Netherlands, the Reformation had completely triumphed, and in all the other countries on this side of the Alps

and the Pyrenees, it seemed on the point of triumphing."

We had undertaken, in this series of papers, to explain the origin of the Reformation, so as to show that it was not the work of the Holy Ghost, and of the calm, prayerful co-operation of holy men, full of that charity by which the true Church is animated; and we have finished that task, in a brief but truthful account. While many minor points, here and there occurring in our statements, will, no doubt, be controverted, our main line of thought is unassailable.

We will conclude this brief sketch of the first origin of Protestantism with some remarks of Macaulay on what we may call the second stage of the Reformation. He writes: "At first the chances seemed to be decidedly in favor of Protestantism, but the victory remained with the Church of Rome. On every point it was successful. If we overleap another half century, we find her victorious and dominant in France, Belgium, Bavaria, Bohemia, Austria and Hungary. Nor has Protestantism, in the course of two hundred years, been able to reconquer any portion of what it then lost. It is, moreover, not to be dissembled that this wonderful triumph of the Papacy is to be chiefly attributed, not to

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force of arms, but to a great reflux in public opinion."

THE END.

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